1: Drew G-3 (1863-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

101 In the upper valley of the Tavi, which was lately described, live
121 some Gaddis in communities of their own, with their own head-
361 men, in small villages separate from those of the other hill men.

The relationship of these Gaddis to the other Paháris cannot be
142 a distant one. In physique they closely resemble the people we have described. It is likely that whatever peculiarities they possess have been acquired by specialisation of occupation through some centuries.

291 In dress they have one striking peculiarity in their hat, made of a stiff cloth, which is of a form indescribable, but it is well

GADDÍS, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

shown in the accompanying cut taken from a photograph. This gives a fair notion of the features of the Gaddis, as well as of their dress, which, as stated before in the note, is the same as that of the Paháris, except as regards this peculiar hat.

197 As to the language of the Paháris, many separate dialects are spoken; every 20 miles or so will bring you within hearing of a new one. Places no farther apart than Rámban, Dodá, Kishtwár,

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1874 AVI Kashmir AVI

Pádar, and Bhadarwáh, have their own speech, which, though not incomprehensible to the people of the neighbouring place, still is very distinct from theirs. Counting all these together as Pahári dialects, we may say that between Pahári and Dogri there is so much difference as to make Pahári incomprehensible to a man of Dógar. More will be said on this subject in the chapter on Language.

GUJARS.

There is another race who spend half their life on these mountains and half at lower altitudes, namely the Gujars.

Unlike the Gaddis (who are really hill people, and only for a few months at a time visit the lower parts), the Gujars have their homes below; they are only summer visitors to the mountains. Since they were omitted from what was said about the inhabitants of the Outer Hills, they may fairly find a place here.

These Gujars are a set of people who are found scattered at intervals over the country between Delhi and the Indus. In those parts which we deal with they have their homes in the plains outside the hills, here and there among the lower hills, and in some valleys among the higher mountains. Sometimes they occupy a village by themselves; sometimes they share it with others; but even in that case they remain a very distinct body. Though holding some land, they do not chiefly depend on it for sustenance, for they are a migrating, pastoral tribe, who seek for their herds pastures in various parts at different levels, and live mostly by the produce of their cattle.

I agree with Sir George Campbell that they are an Aryan race; but their countenance cannot be called high Aryan. Their forehead is narrow; they want the well-formed brow of the finer races. The lower part of the face is narrow also; but the nose has always something of the curve, as is often seen in Aryan nations. Some I met with had lighter eyes than are common among the other tribes of the country, and, generally, as compared with the people we have hitherto had to describe, their beard was scant. In figure they are tall and gaunt; in motion slow and ungainly. They are rather surly in disposition, having that

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

They are rather surly in disposition having that
181 kind of independence which consists in liking to be left alone and to have as little as possible to do with other races. When, however, one does come in contact with them, they are not bad to deal with.

291 Those who live down below and come up to the Middle Mountains for the summer dress somewhat scantily; they have loose short pyjamas; the upper part of the body is often bare; but there is a kit, or blanket, in reserve, which is commonly put over the head, and hangs down behind. Those who are settled farther among the mountains (and these Gujars are found in Kashmir, if not beyond,) adopt a dress more like that of their neighbours, better suited for severe weather.

233 Wherever I have met the Gujars, I have found them to be possessors of herds of buffaloes, and to drive these, as the spring and summer advanced, into the higher mountain pastures. In the beginning of May I met many about Bhadarwáh who had just arrived from below; they had with them their wives and families, spinning wheels, churns, and other helps for getting a
[234] living. Their gains are derived chiefly from the sale of ghí, or
[438] clarified butter, the preparation of which occupies them continually during their stay among those summer pastures. They are generally in communication with traders of the towns below for its sale, having often, I think, received advances in anticipation of the season's yield.

● 197 Their language is not the same everywhere; that depends on the country they are settled in—not that which they come to in their summer wanderings, but where their house, their winter home, is. Thus there are Gujars in Kashmir who speak Kashmírí, while those who come to the Middle Mountains speak a mixed dialect of Panjábí, or Dogrí, and Pahárí. These have, however, some words peculiar to themselves. I heard the following half dozen in the mouths of some Gujars, from near Budil, which may be worth preserving:

Mother	áli.	*Son's wife*	bau.
Sister	bebe and bíbí.	*Husband's sister*	nand.
Son	gudurá.	*To milk*	melna.
Daughter	gudurí.	*To be milked*	milna.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1878) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

CHAPTER XXI.

LANGUAGES.

DOGRÍ — CHIBHÁLÍ — THE PAHÁRÍ DIALECTS AND KASHMÍRÍ — KIRÁ DIALECTS — THE TIBETAN — USE OF PERSIAN — WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

197 I GIVE below an enumeration of thirteen languages, or dialects, spoken within the Jammoo and Kashmír territories. It would be possible, no doubt, to make a greater number of subdivisions, since the speech is apt to vary in these mountain countries within very short distances; the greater number of subdivisions one makes, the less, of course, will be the difference between any two adjoining ones; in the present list, between most of those named, the differences are very marked indeed. It will be seen that for the Language Map I have massed some of the dialects into groups, for each of which groups I have used one tint. These tints may be taken as showing what languages or groups of dialects so far differ as to be mutually incomprehensible. On that principle the thirteen dialects are classed under five different languages. This classification is practical and useful, and the marked geographical boundaries of those groups enabled me to ascertain their distribution with accuracy. But, to show out the relationship of the fourteen dialects, the classification is better which is indicated by the bracketing on the left-hand side of the list, where, all the Pahárí dialects and Kashmírí being put together, *four* great groups are constituted.

The following is the list:

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).

DOGRÍ	One colour on the Language Map.
CHIBHÁLÍ	
RÍMBANÍ	One colour on the Language Map, under the name Pahárí.
BHADARWÁHÍ	
PÁDARÍ	
DIALECT OF DODÍ ..	
KISHTWÁRÍ	
KASHMÍRÍ	One colour on the Language Map.

In Drew G-3 (1962-1978) 1978 AVI Kashmir AV.

197

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION)—*continued.*

Dógri .. { Dialect of Dín .. Dialect of Ambá, Gúrdi, and Dhar Dialect of Gnarw } One colour on the Language Map.

TURANIAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).

Tibetan { Language of Balti and Ladák .. .. Language of the Chanpás } One colour on the Language Map.

DOGRÍ.

Dogrí differs considerably from Hindostáni (that dialect of India which has, under British rule, become the most diffused of all), but whether or not in such a degree as would justify us in calling it a distinct language I can hardly say. If a native of Hindostán, who had never come farther north than Ambála, were to go where pure Dogrí is spoken, into the heart, say, of the Outer Hills, he would not be able to understand any but the shortest sentences, and by no means all of these; with some difficulty he would make himself understood for simple matters.

The relationship of Panjábi to Hindostáni is very similar, while there is a difference between Dogrí and Panjábi which is not so great as that between either of them and Hindostáni. Many [194] points of difference from this last are common to Dogrí and Panjábi; for instance, the use of the short *a* in several words which in Hindostáni would have the long *á*, thus the Hindostáni *hátth* (hand) and *kám* (work) become in both Dogrí and Panjábi *hath* and *kam*; the not unfrequent use in these last dialects of *v* where Hindostáni would have *b*, as in *vi*, twenty (in Hindostáni *bís*), is another instance. Of those *grammatical forms* in Dogrí that 193 vary from Hindostáni about half are the same as Panjábi and half 197 are different from either. In some points (as in the imperfect of the verb *to be*) Dogrí resembles Hindostáni where Panjábi differs from it.

In Appendix I. I have given a Grammar of Dogrí. The structure of that language is such that it is possible to take a Hindostáni grammar, and, without recasting it, replace the Hin-

[Cf. category 116, pp. 503-515 -- Analyst]

31 Drew G-3 (1962-1972) 1975 AVI Kashmir AVI

193 dostáni with Dogri forms. This indeed is very nearly what I have
197 done in making this short grammar, taking Forbes' Hindostáni Grammar as the model.*

197 I am unable to compare with any exactitude the Dogri with the other languages in respect of their vocabularies as a whole. In Appendix II. a few words are given in Dogri and some other dialects; these are some of those recommended by Sir George Campbell (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), as well fitted to try the relationship of various languages.

191 This Dogri is spoken by the village people of the Outer Hills and of the strip of plain at their foot, from the Rávi to a little west of the Chináb.† It is spoken purest by those who have not come much into contact with other races; especially is it to be heard pure and unmixed from the mouths of the women, who, from their seclusion and little intercourse with strangers, are the most likely to preserve the indigenous speech. In the towns, but especially in Jummoo, one hears a mixture of Dogri, Panjábi, and Hindostáni. Of the officers of the Maharaja's Court, very few, if any, speak pure Dogri; some, indeed, hail from the Panjáb, and speak their own Panjábi with some Dogri mixed; others have by contact with those who live in the British territory (where Hindostáni is sure to be much heard, even where it is not the vernacular) got an admixture of Hindostáni; indeed almost every one of the Court speaks a mixture of the three above-named dialects, in proportions varying for each person.

CHIBHÁLI.

197 The Chibhálí dialect differs from Dogri by no means so much as Dogri does from Hindostáni, but perhaps in the same degree as it does from Panjábi. One would not, indeed, on looking over the few words I have put down in Appendix II., think that there was any important difference between Dogri and Chibhálí, but

* I have been much helped by Soná, Brahman, who has a critical knowledge of Dogri. The incompleteness and imperfections of the grammar are due to my not having taken as much advantage of his assistance as I should like to have done.

† Eastward of the Rávi, the people of the Outer Hills have a speech closely allied to if not identical with our Dogri.

L: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

those two languages in motion have a greater amount of difference, 197
one that is very striking to the ear.

Chibhálí is closely allied to that form of Panjábí which is spoken west of the Jhelam, in the country called Pothwár;* this latter (which the natives call Pothwárí) I shall speak of as Western Panjábí.

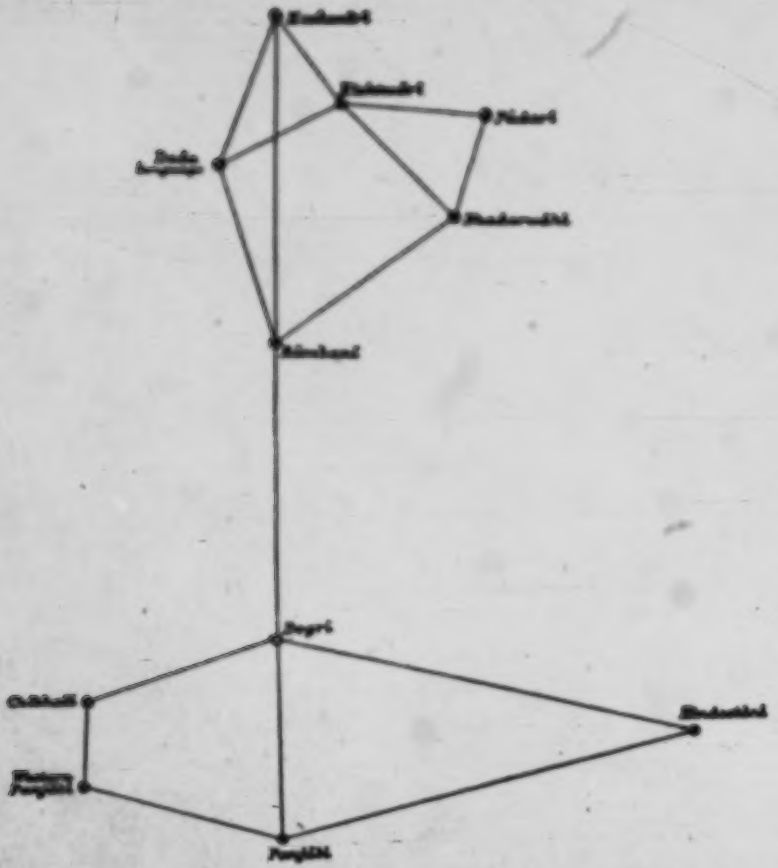


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

Some of the most striking differences between Chibhálí and 193
Western Panjábí on the one hand, and Dogrí or Panjábí on the 197
other, consist in the use of nú, nu, and nl in the genitive instead of

* In this word the *t* and the *r* are both cerebral.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

193 dā, da, and dī; and in the termination of the present participle,
197 which seems always to be sā, while in Hindostānī it would be tā and in Dogrī and Panjābī sdā. Also there is a tendency for the
[194] vowel a (short) to become in Chibhālī u (short). Thus—

Dogrī:	lakṛī, *wood.*	Chibhālī:	lukṛī.
"	chhum, *waterfall.*	"	chhum.
"	chalnā, *to go on.*	"	julnā.

197 The change from Dogrī to Chibhālī in the hills corresponds with that from Panjābī to Western Panjābī in the plains; but there is less difference between Chibhālī and Western Panjābī than there is between Dogrī and Panjābī. These relationships (and others that will be spoken of farther on) I have tried to illustrate by the diagram on the preceding page, in which the length of the lines joining the points marking the various dialects is intended to represent proportionately the differences between them.

The lower part shows Dogrī and Panjābī equidistant from Hindostānī, and at a less distance from each other than either is from Hindostānī. Chibhālī and Western Panjābī are shown at equal distances respectively from Dogrī and Panjābī, but with a less distance between them than there is between those two.

The Pahārī Dialects and Kashmīrī.

Those philologists who have paid attention to the Kashmīrī language have found it one of great interest, for its elaborate inflexions and for the relation, both in vocabulary and grammar, which it bears to the Sanskrit. It is still, however, as regards its construction, so little known that there is a probable yield of more material of value and interest for anyone who should, equipped with the requisite philological knowledge, seriously undertake the analysis of it. I subjoin in a note a list of the writings on the Kashmīrī language, chiefly vocabularies, that have been published.*

* Grammar and Vocabulary of the Cashmīrī Language, by M. P. Edgeworth. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. x., pt. ii., 1841, p. 1038.

A Grammar of the Cashmeeree Language, by Major Leech. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. xiii., pt. i., 1844, p. 397.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

I myself never learned to speak Kashmírí; it is never heard in the Jummoo darbár; for the purposes of a traveller through Kashmír either Hindostání or Panjábí will serve; since Kashmírí is a language not easily acquired, one is not likely to master it who is not for long tied to Kashmír proper. Having allowed this, it may seem presumptuous for me to say anything about the connection of Kashmírí with other languages; but there are some characteristics of it so marked that they can be traced by one who knows but few words of it, and since I believe that in travelling over little-frequented parts I have been able to find out certain facts of interest connected with the subject, I shall not refrain from stating them. 197

Kashmírí has hitherto been spoken of as a language quite by itself, unlike any other spoken tongue, and not allied, except in the distant way in which all the Aryan tongues of India are allied to one another, with any neighbouring speech. But in travelling in the Middle Mountain region I found several dialects (which I have classed together under the name *Pahárí*) allied in different degrees to Kashmírí, having, in these differing degrees, those characteristics by which Kashmírí is so easily recognised. These intermediate dialects are Rámbaní, Bhadarwáhí, Pádarí, the language of Dodá, and Kishtwárí. There is a gradual passage to be traced from Dogrí (which we saw to be closely allied with the Hindí dialects of the plains of India) up through those Pahárí dialects to Kashmírí. Rámbaní may be taken as the half-way stage between Dogrí and Kashmírí; while Bhadarwáhí, Pádarí, the Dodá language, and Kishtwárí show marked advances from that stage towards Kashmírí.

The vocabularies in Appendix II. will illustrate this to a certain extent. Some of the most noticeable characters of Kashmírí are the possession of the sound *s* and the use of it where a 194 197

A Vocabulary of the Kashmírí Language, by L. Bowring. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1868, p. 227.

List of Kashmírí Words, by Dr. W. J. Elmslie. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal. 1870, p. 95.

Vocabulary of the Kashmírí Language, by Dr. Elmslie. London: Church Missionary House. 1872.

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1878 AVI Kashmir AVI

194 Hindi dialect would have *j*, and of the sound *ts* where in Hindi there
197 would be *ch*. These occur to some degree in all the above dialects. I am not able to any extent to compare their structures,* but something can be gathered from the way in which natives of the different parts find the other dialects to be comprehensible or incomprehensible; from observations on this I infer that Rámbani is about equidistant from Kashmiri and Dogri and is not to be understood either by a Dográ or by a native of Kashmir who has had no experience of any other Pahári dialect. Those dialects, as of Dodá or Kishtwár, which are between Rámbani and Kashmiri, may be understood by a Kashmiri, and possibly also by a native of Rámban. If the reader will refer again to the diagram on p. 465 he will see an attempt to express all this graphically. There the length of the line between Dogri and Rámbani equals that between Rámbani and Kashmiri. The group of five dialects above are more closely allied together. Of course this diagram is but tentative; if one knew accurately the proportion of the differences between any set of languages it might, in order to represent them diagrammatically, be necessary to construct a *solid diagram*, which would, more completely than one made on the flat, illustrate the relationships in all directions; such a diagram again might be stereoscopically presented.

DARD DIALECTS.

197 In Dr. Leitner's 'Dárdistán,' before quoted, are vocabularies, phrases, and a comparative grammar that give an insight into the character of several of the Dárd dialects. I am unable to add anything to his information. All I can do is to put (as I have done in Appendix II.) those words which were used to compare the other languages into the dialects of the Dárd language which I have had an opportunity of hearing. This I have done from my own observations; on comparing the words as I took them down with the same picked out from Dr. Leitner's vocabularies, &c.,

* A few phrases in Rámbani and Bhadarwáhi will be found in Appendix III. The English of them is from the model phrases recommended by Sir George Campbell. See Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1866.

Ji Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

I find them to differ exceedingly little when allowance has been made for the different system (chiefly affecting the consonants) according to which he has written them. 197

The three Dârd dialects of which some words are given in the Appendix are those of Astor, Gilgit, and Dâh. The Astor dialect includes or coincides with the speech of Drâs and of Gurez; I had made separate lists in those two valleys, but find them so nearly to agree with what is spoken in Astor that it did not seem worth while to print them.

What I have given of the Dâh dialect is new. That place, it will be remembered, is inhabited by Dârds who have become Buddhist; from their complete (and probably early) separation from other Dârd communities one would expect differences in their language. In the vocabulary given some are to be observed, but I confess that this is too meagre to be of much value, only the drawing attention to this separate dialect may be of some use.

THE TIBETAN.

Of the varieties of the Tibetan language spoken in these territories I have in the list named but two, that spoken by the Châmpâs, or nomads, and that of the settled Ladâkhîs. There are, I believe, local differences within this latter division; the Zânskâr people speak somewhat differently, and also the people in the neighbourhood of Kargil; but I am not able to give any detailed information on this subject.

The Tibetan has been so thoroughly studied that the best thing I can do here is to name some of the publications which might best, or most easily, be consulted by anyone wishing to acquire a knowledge of it. These are:

A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English, by Alexander Csoma de Kŏrŏs. Calcutta, 1834.

Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English, by A. Csoma de Kŏrŏs. Calcutta, 1834.

A Short Practical Grammar of the Tibetan Language, with special reference to the Spoken Dialects, by H. A. Jaeschke. Kyelang, 1865.

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AV/

197 A Tibetan Dictionary, by the last author, in the Roman character, has also, I believe, been published.

USE OF PERSIAN.

198 212 With all these different languages current in the territories it can be understood that in carrying on the Government some difficulties occur through their variety. It is not easy to say whether these difficulties have been increased or lessened by the use for official documents of yet another tongue, one not spoken in any part of those territories either by the commonalty or as the Court language. The official written language is Persian.* Orders given by the Maharaja are written in Persian—character and language. In the British province of the Panjáb the Persian character is employed for writing the Hindostáni language, but here in Jummoo none of the vernaculars are written in that character, the Persian language itself is employed. Under the Maharaja the Government accounts are kept in Persian, and in almost every case that language is the medium of official communication, though it is true that the Dogrí, as will be shown below, is in some cases used.

Though Persian is so commonly written that all who would aspire to an office of any estimation must become familiar with it, yet it is very seldom spoken in Jummoo, only, indeed, when some trader or other traveller from Kábul or from Yárkand comes, unacquainted with our familiar dialects, and makes himself understood with Persian, which is the French of Asia.

This use of Persian for Government writings is to be traced back to the Court of the Delhi Emperors. There Persian had always been the polite, and it remained to the last the official, language; for long had it been the practice of those classes of men who were likely to have a hand in the civil affairs of Government early to acquire Persian, and so, on the formation of Ranjít Singh's kingdom in the Panjáb, it naturally became the official written language of h' Court, although Ranjít Singh himself was unacquainted with it. Persian still had that position when the British came into the

* Persian is called in India by the names Fársí and Irání.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

Jhelam above Muzafarābād), and those Chibhālī tribes south of them. The *Dogrās* are in the eastern part of the Outer Hill region. 101 131 563

LANGUAGE MAP. 1/1

The languages spoken have been the subject of a separate chapter; here, therefore, a very few words will suffice to explain this map, which shows the distribution of them. The principle applied has been to mass dialects, and separate only such languages as are mutually incomprehensible. The number is thus reduced to five. The tint for "uninhabited country" stands as before. The *Tibetan* language here marked out is that which is spoken, with not much difference, by the three Tibetan races who were distinguished in the last map; the area of it also includes a part of what in the Race Map is coloured "Dārd"; the reason of this is that the people of some few villages of the Dārd race (those situated in the Hanū Valley) have lost their own language and adopted the Tibetan. 197 563

The area of the *Dārd* language is the same as that of the Dārd race exhibited in the Race Map, with the exception just noted, and with the other exception that the colony of Kashmīrīs in Gilgit are not here shown as separate, on account of their having adopted the Dārd tongue.

The *Kashmirī* language has nearly the same bounds as the Kashmīrī race, for these are a people who are apt to keep up their national characteristics. The only exceptions to this which I have noted are, first, that case of the Kashmīrī colony at Gilgit, and, secondly, the colony at Akhnūr, who have adopted the language of the Dogrās they have settled amongst.

The *Pahārī* dialects, which are allied to the Kashmīrī, which are intermediate between that language and the Dogrī, occupy the same area as the Pahārī race itself.

The *Chibhālī* and *Dogrī* dialects are here put together and represented under one colour, the two being mutually comprehensible; they occupy the combined area of the Dogrī and Chibhālī race of the last map.

1/1 [Cf. category III, End Map IX -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

197 563 Thus we have mapped five tongues of undoubtedly so much difference between each other as to deserve the name of separate languages, not merely of dialects. Of each, with the exception of Kashmīrī, there are dialectic subdivisions, but these I have not attempted to map; I have here represented the great and striking divisions only.

FAITH MAP. 1/2

563 779 795 There are four religions, the geographical distribution of whose followers is represented on this map. Only three, indeed, are of much importance as regards this country. These are the three wide-spread religions of Buddhism, Hindūism, and Muhammadanism. The fourth is the Sikh sect of the Hindūs, which is very sparingly represented.

The Buddhists comprise two out of the three Tibetan races who were represented on the Race Map—the Chāmpās and the Ladākhīs. They comprise also the inhabitants of several Dārd villages, who, while retaining certain rites of their own, have adopted Buddhism. It should be noted that not only those Dārd villages follow this religion who, it was shown, have acquired the Tibetan tongue and lost their own, but several others also who retain their own Dārd speech.

The Muhammadans include the Baltīs, who, as before said, are but Ladākhīs converted to Islām; nearly all the Dārds; the Kashmīrīs (taking them generally); and the Chibhālīs.

Of the Hindū faith are the Pahārīs and Dogrās.

Of Sikhs but very few are to be met with in these territories. There are some villages of comparatively old colonisation in the Jhelam Valley—more probably than I have marked, but only of those have I a record; and there is a Sikh temple and *Granth* or Book on the banks of the Chināb.

563 779 It is the case that within the Hindū area are many Muhammadans, not only colonies from other races, but also natives of the same part who have at different times been converted; this is especially the case in the towns. I have not attempted to represent these exceptions on the map, but have remained content with

1/2 [Cf. category III, End Map V -- Analyst]

APPENDIX II.

VOCABULARIES COMPARED. (For Remarks, see Chap. XXI.)

English.	Dialects of the Outer Hills.		Dialects of the Middle Mountains.				Kashmir.
	Dogri.	Chibhâli.	Rámáuli.	Bhaderwâhi.	Pâḍari.	Kiáṭwâṛi.	Kashmiri.
one	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek		
two	do	do	di	dúi	dó		
three	tro	tro	thai	kiai	kisi		
four	chár	chár	chár	tsor	teir *or* tasr		
five	panj	panj	pánch	pánu	pánch *or* tas		
six	cho	cho	chhá	mi	mi		
seven	sat	sat	sát	sh	sh		
eight	ath	ath	ath	nau	nau		
nine	nau	nau	nau	dah	dah		
ten	das	das	das				
twenty	vi°	bi	bí	pantah			
fifty	panjá	panjá	panjá	sau			
hundred	sau	sau	sau	sah			
I	maiñ *and* auñ	maiñ	maiñ	máṛá †			
my	mera	márá	mérá				
we	as		asé				
our	sá-á		sáṛá				
thou	tuñ	tú	tú				
thy	terá	téṛá	téṛá				
you	tus		tusé				
your	tusá-á	tusá-á	tuṛá (?)				
he	o	o	o				
his	undá	undá	uṛá				
they	o	o	uṛé				
their	undá	undá	uṛá				

hand	hath	hath	hāth	hath	hath	hathi	hath
foot	pair	pyr	khur	pēo	khur	khor	khor
nose	nak	nak	nāk	nak	nak	nast	nast
eye	akhi	akh	achi	atai	ach *and* akh	ach	ach
mouth	—	mūh	ṁūh	ū	as	ass	ās**
tooth	dand	dand	dānt	dand	dand	dand	dand
ear	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan
hair	wāl	bāl	(kash *and* pa-pharikh)	bāl	sharwār ††	kī	wāl
head	sir	sr	shīr	dog	rot	loth	kal
tongue	jib	jib	jīb	zīb	jib	zoo	zoo
belly	dhī	dhī	pet	dhī	pet	yud	yud
back	pith	kund	pīth	pīth	pīth	shāna, shistar	shāna shistar
iron	lōhā	lōhā	loh	lōhā	lohā	shongo	son
gold	sonā	sonā	sonā	sonā	sonā	stn	rup
silver	chāndli	chāndli *and* rūpā	chāndi	rupo	rup *and* rupā	bāb	bab, mai, *and* bābā
father	pyā	pyā	bābā	bā	bābā	bābā	
mother	māi	mā	ammā *and* lyā	haiyā	ijā *or* ij	ammā	māi, dāi,*** *and* āpā
brother	bra	bra	bhāī	gīā	bāī *and* bhāī ‡‡	bhāiji *and* bhāī ‖‖	bāi
sister	bahīā	bahn	bahin	bahin	dedi *and* bahīā §§	bhingedi *and* bahīā ¶¶	bain *and* bindāi ***

* Often used in the plural, thus: *sīā sipāh*, eight score.

† Fem. sing., *mavī*; mas. plu., *mavā*; fem. plu., *mavijāh*.

‡ *an* = there, *in* = them.

§ I am not sure whether this is not *ity*.

‖ There is a vowel-sound in Kashmīrī which is not provided for in the alphabetical system used for the other dialects; it is like the *eu* in French, or *ö* in German; or it may be said to be like *e* in Hindustānī, elongated, but not elongated in such a way as to make it like *ā*; I have provisionally put *ā* to represent it.

¶ For "his" I have also *tsuna*, and for "theirs" I have *tsun hund*.

** The character *ā* used in the Kashmīrī vocabulary, denotes a very broad sound, as in the English "awl," somewhat different from that of *ā*; Sir G. Campbell makes the same distinction.

†† The side-locks are called *pāīrī*.

‡‡ *bāī* = elder brother; *bhāī* = younger brother.

§§ *dedi* = elder sister; *bahīā* = younger sister.

‖‖ *bhāīji* = elder brother; *bhāī* = younger brother.

¶¶ *bhingedi* = elder sister; *bahīā* = younger sister.

*** *ā* for the Kashmīrī language denotes a sound like that of the *e* in *then*.

197 [201]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1
192
[101]

VOCABULARIES COMPARED—*continued.*

ENGLISH.	DIALECTS OF THE OUTER HILLS.		DIALECTS OF THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.				KASHMIR.
	Dogri.	Chibhâli.	Râmbani.	Bhadarwâhi.	Pâdari.	Kishtwâri.	Kashmiri.
man	ádmi	ádmi *and* janá	mánú	mahánú	mán	mán	mányu
woman	janáni	trimat	zanán	kwañsh	giún	—	zenán
wife	istri	—	—	kwañsh *and* kli	zel	zanáh	kulai *and* ťahan
child							
son	putar	pútar	lokú	ko	kwá	shúr	nichu *and* gubar
daughter	dhi	dhi	kúri	koi	kúi	kori	kor *and* kúr
slave	ghulám, banda	—	pálak *and* kamá	—	—	—	ghulám
cultivator	jamíndar	zamíndár	zamíndár	zamíndár	jamíndár	zamíndar	gurust
shepherd	—	pálá *and* gwálá	gwál	gaddi *and* puhál	gwál *and* phál	gwál	phál
God	parmeshwar	Isúdá	parmeshar	parmeshar	parmesar	—	Ísúra
devil	—	shaitán	masán	*none*	*none*	—	masharán
sun	súraj	dí	súrj	dihâro	dia	akhtáb	ákhtáb
moon	chand	chan	chándní	chándni	chandni *	tsandar	zún
star	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárá	tárak	tárak
fire	ag	ag	ág	ág	ág	nár	nár
water	jal	pání	pání	pání	pání	páiń	áb
house	ghar	ghar	ghar *and* gi	ghar	obar, ghar, *and* gi	gharo	ghór *and* kór
horse	ghorá	ghorá	ghorú	gboro	ghorá	gúr	gur
cow	gáo	gá	gáo	gau *and* baisi	gá	—	gáo
dog	kuttá	kuttá	shúná	kuttar	kuttar (*f.* kuitari)	hon	hún
cat	billi	billi	bilár	billú (*f.* billi)	balá (*f.* balál)	bérr	brer
cock	kukar†	kukar	kukar	kukar	kukar	kokar	kokar
duck	batak	batak	batak	batak	—	—	batak
ass	khotá	khotá	khotú	khoto (*f.* khoti)	—	khar	ábar
camel	úńt	uńt	—	úńt	—	—	úńt
bird	pakru	pakrú	pakrú	pakrú	pakrú		
go	já	{ juliyá *and* guchiyá‡ }	gá	gá	gá	gats	gats
eat	khá	khá	khá	khá	khá	khú	khe

	beh	bij	bimo	bish	bish	bīūn-bo	be
	ā	achchā	je	ei	illa	yo-i	wolo
	mār	{māriyā *and* kuriyā‡}	mār	mār *and* kut	mār *and* kut	tsots	lāyas
	khalā ho	khalā ho	uthe kar-ū	kharo-bove	khar bho	hoshwat	{wadani ros *and* wazani ros
	mar	mar	mar	mar	mar	mar	
	do	do	do les	do	do	dīūs	dis
	daur	daur	daur	daur	daur	doro	dor *and* tikh
	ūpar	ūpar	ūbū	bāgā	khāri	hosh	heri *and* pēt
	khal	bun	khalo	undoi	ūn	bōn	bōn
	āgo	āgo	āgaro	agarī	āgat	brohi	bont
	pichho	pichho	pato	patar	{pathonher *and* patlakher}	poth	pat
	nehrī	nehre	nerī	nerū	ner *and* negihana	—	nandīk
	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr	dūr
	kun	kon	kus	kaserū	kān	kon	kus
	kah	ke	kū	kun *and* kunen	kī	kyā	kyā
	kīkh	kīh	kī	koyā	kyas	—	kyāzi *and* kyūh
	hor *and* te	hor	or	—	—	—	be
	par	—	par	—	—	—	lekin
	jakar	jīkh	so	—	—	—	hargāh
	ūho	ahākh	halā	hākh	hākh	—	
	na	nākh	nahīh	nā	nā	noe	na
	{chaigā *and* kharā}	—	jawīn	kharū	chor *and* kharā	—	mbar *and* jān
	mārā *and* burā	—	—	burū *and* mārū	—	—	yōoh
	uchā	—	ūkar-ū	uchu	adham	—	fud *and* fhud

* In the upper part of the Bhutnā Valley in Pādar the word for moon is *soam*.
† hen = kukar-ī. ‡ These are past participles.

197

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.			ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.		
	Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.		Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dāh.
one	ek	ek	ek	gold	son	sun	ser *or* sir
two	dū	du	dū (like *u* in French).	silver	rūp	rūp	mul
three	tre	tebe *or* cho*	trā	father	bābo	bābo, mālo	bo
four	chār	chār	chor	mother	ājī	ājī, mā	āye
five	push	poĭn	poñah	brother	kāko (elder) *zhā* (younger)	jā	bajo (elder) vā (younger)
six	shā	shā	shā	sister	kākī (elder) sas (younger)	sā (*to call*, kākī)	kākī (elder) sas (younger)
seven	sat	sat	sat	man	manūzhā	manuzhoǂ	mush
eight	āsht	atch*	āth	woman	cheī	cheī	tchīgā
nine	nauñ	nau	nūñ	wife	gren	gren	tchīgā
ten	daī	dāī	das	child	—	putch	
twenty	bī	bī	bijhā	son	puch (bāl) = boy)	putch (baby-boy = shū)	biyū
fifty	du bī ka daī	dū bī ka dāī	dū bī jhū dāsh	daughter	mulāī	di (baby-girl = molaī)	muleī
hundred	shal	shal	sho				
I	mo	mā	mo	slave	bādo	maristan	satukspo
my	meo *or* mīo	mai	mī bet	cultivator	grasti	grasto	
ye	bo	charbīō†	asī mush	shepherd	paiyāl	paiyālo	
our	—	asei		God	khudā	khudā	khudā
thou	tū	tū	tī	devil	shaitān	shaitān *or* iblis	shaītān
thy	toñ	thāī		sun	sūrī	sūrī	sūrī
you	—	tso	tsī mush	moon	yūn	yūn	gyun
your	—	tsāī	tsī bun	star	tāro	tāro	tūrī
he	zho	ro	pho	fire	phū	agār	*ghul*
his	—	rasāī	tes	water	woī	woī	wūā
they	—	āī (far) anī (near) rinei (far) anīnei (near)	phe	house	gosh	got	got
				horse	ashp	ashpo	āpsh
their	zhno		tenbun	cow	gāo *or* gau	go	go
				dog	shū	shūñ	shūā
hand	hath	hath	hath	cat	pushī *and* pishū	būshī	billū
foot	pā	pā	kūtī				
nose	noto	nato	noto	cock	koko = cock kokoī = hen	karkā-mash	byāpo,§ byāmo = hen
eye	achī	atchī	āthī				
mouth	āñzo	āī	ūzī				
tooth	donī	donī	danī				
ear	kun	kun	kanī				
hair	jāko	jakur	zhākur				
head	shish	shish	shish				
tongue	zip	jip	gip				
belly	der	der	war				
back	dāk	dāki	puth	duck	batak	bārash	
iron	chimar	chīmar	chingar	ass	zhūkun	jakun	khar

* The consonantal sound in these words has the same relation to the ordinary sound of *ch* as the cerebral *d* or *t* has to the dental *d* or *t*, it is *ch* sounded far back on the palate; in default of a recognised character for it I provisionally use *tch*.

† I have this down, but consider that it wants to be verified.

ǂ For *man*, as distinguished from *woman*, the word is *mushā*.

§ These terminations are Tibetan.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

197

ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.			ENGLISH.	DARD DIALECTS.		
	Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dâh.		Dialect of Astor.	Dialect of Gilgit.	Dialect of Dâh.
camel	ûñt	ûñt		behind	pâto	phatû	ashakunâ
bird	—	bring *		near	ele	kachi	âboni
go	bo	bo	byun	far	dûr	dûr	dur
eat	khâ	kha	khâ	who	koi	ko	kyâno bet
sit	bet	bei	bâsh	what	yok	jek	ye bet
come	e	wa	ye, âni	why	—	ke	
beat	kute	shida	kûti	and	ka	ka	
stand	hunbo	hunbo	ûthe	but	—	akhan	
die	mû	mu	mu, mulâ	if	—	—	
give	de	de	dî	yes	âwâ	âwâ	bet
run	logobo	haita	bihyon	no	ne	nush	nish
up	prâde	ajâ	onâr	good	mishta	—	
down	kûli	khiri	kharâ	bad	katse	kach	
		mutcho		high			
before	mutro	(near)	yârbû				
		yar (far)					

* *bring* is a general word for bird; *chîî* = sparrow.

APPENDIX III.

PHRASES IN RÂMBANÎ AND BHADARWÂHÎ.

ENGLISH.	RÂMBANÎ.	BHADARWÂHÎ.
What is your name?	Tenû kû nâm chu.	Tero kun hai (?) nao.
How old is this horse?	Kitâ variyâñ sânû ghorû chu.	E ghora katar varieki rue.
How far is it from here to Kashmir?	Itâstâ Kashmîr kitî dûr chi.	Itthe keta katarî dûr hai (?) Kashmir.
How many sons are there in your father's house?	Tenû bâbâ sane gî kitâ putar châ.	Tashû boâre ghare katar ko han.
I have walked a long way to-day.	Âdz as dûr âtâ âwa sam.	Âdze auñ barî dûr jo.
The son of my uncle is married to her sister.	Mine patriye sanû lokû tesâ zanânî saniyâ bahinî sâthî byâtu matû cho.*	
In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gî antar sufed ghore sanî kâtî chî.	Ghar antar zan ghore dî kâtî ahe.
Put the saddle upon his back.	Kâtî lâgo.†	Ghore par taŕâ kâtî.
I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Tesue loke matî mân datî am.	Eserû ko glâbû mâro mîñ.
He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Phâr shire beñ mâl tsârte châ.‡	Es dhâr ûpar mâl tsarne lagarûe.
He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Is butû khal ghore beñ cho.	Es bute het ghore ûpar bisnû.
His brother is taller than his sister.	Tesoñ brâ teshuâ (? teshnâ) bahinî âtâ ûkarû chu.	Eserû glâ bahîñ kar badî ahe.
The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Teson mul rupeya dhâî chu.	Eserû mul dhâî rupeye âhe.
My father lives in that small house.	Menûbâl is mate gharû mads rânchu.	Merû boa es nikarî ghar bishî.
Give this rupee to him.	Yû rupeyû tes dât.	Ese rupeya de.
Take those rupees from him.	Yû rupeyû tesâtâ genî ânû.	Eskar rupeya ânâ.
Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Tes dabî tâ mâr dât gazrâ sâthî gant thas.	Es glab kût dangarî kar kinû bândas.
Draw water from the well.	Khûâ âtâ pânî kârû.	Divarî kar pânî ân.
Walk before me.	Mî agar agar chale.	Mere agarî gâ.
Whose boy comes behind you?	Kusoñ lokû tî patâ patâ en chut.	Kaserû ko magar lagerû tûî.
From whom did you buy that?	Kasâtâ tî mule gin chut.	Teñ eskar kiskar ahnû.
From a shopkeeper of the village.	Gâmû sane hattîwâle âtâ.	Glonerû hattîwalo kar âhnû.

* "to the sister of that woman."

† "place the saddle."

‡ *tsârte châ* is plural.

Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Gujars

waterfall; crystal clear, sometimes it runs in a gully beneath the road, in other places where the flow is only during the spring when the snows are melting, a culvert passes over the road to carry it away. In some places, the air is cooled by the water which drips down the rock side and feeds the masses of maidenhair ferns and flowering creepers of all colours, white, pink yellow and blue, and I began to wish I had studied the names of flowers as it seemed so mild to enter in my diary "white, pink, yellow and blue creepers". 491

At one place, where we could see the side valley coming down from above, strewn with tons of loose stones and rocks, a tunnel has been built through the rock at the bend of the road, so that as the great boulders fall, just as they have done for hundreds of years, the road is safe and clear. But in other parts, the loose, grey, slate-like shale had fallen, as it does there at all times of the year, and a gang of coolies complete with bulldozer were shifting it under the eye of an engineer who stood near the flagman and told us when we could move over to the other side, for they pride themselves on keeping that road open at all times in spite of these frequent landslides.

Just as we turned a blind corner, before which a sign post had warned us of a steep decline, we came on masses of goats and horses completely cowering it. The horses were loaded with packs and long poles; there were women and children and great St. Bernard-like dogs mixed up with them, and as we got closer, the goats made either to climb wildly up the side of the mountain or jump down over the stone wall, the women holding frantically on to the bridles of the horses and shouting, until finally their men dashed up to help them. These people are Gujars, who speak in sonorous tones a dialect of Punjabi: nomads, they come each year into the Valley to feed their flocks and herds. Typically from the North-West Frontier, their faces are sallow, long and bony, their noses hooked, their eyes deep-set and dark brown, their hair black and greasy, and the clothes they wear remind one of the gipsy of Europe. Many of the women carried loads, the little girls had baby sisters on their backs, while the men and boys carried nothing but sticks with which to drive the animals. Even as they clung on to a prancing, dancing, frightened horse they laughed and salaamed us. Later 233 [197] [221] [142]

(H) **Cultivated area.**—Of the total area of the State, 5.6 per cent. is cultivable and 4.9 per cent. is actually cultivated. The percentage of irrigated area to cultivated area is 35.1 The percentage of gross cultivated area under rice is 19.3; under wheat 19.5; under barley 2.3; under bajra 3.9; under maize 29.6; and under other food crops including pulses 10.7.

Dialects.—The principal languages spoken in Jammu and Kashmir Provinces are Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Gojri and Pahari. Bhotia and Shina are spoken in Ladakh and Gilgit. Owing to the existence of natural barriers, such as high and vast mountain ranges severing the Indus valley from the rest of the country, Bhotia and Shina languages have remained localized within their territorial boundaries and are not understood in other parts of the country.

Land Tenures.—Prior to 1933, land in Kashmir Province and in the Frontier districts was held by ***zamindars*** either in "***Haq-i-assami***" or as Tenants-at-will and in some cases also as Occupancy tenants. Under ***Haq-i-Assami***, all the land was owned by the State, the actual holders or ***assamis*** had the right of occupancy as against the State as long as they paid the dues, but had no right of alienation by sale or mortgage.

Transfers were, however, permitted within the municipal limits of Srinagar and in Anantnag, Shopian, Bijbihara, Pampore, Sopore, Baramulla and Muzaffarabad towns.

Tenants-at-will held land subject to the will of the proprietor, who could eject them at any time. In Kashmir, tenants-at-will included a large number of ***zamindars*** who had been found in 1924 to have encroached on huge ***khalsa*** areas and to have brought them under cultivation. Occupancy tenants had the right of occupancy of land under a proprietor or an ***assami***. They could not be ejected without special reasons, nor could rent on the land be altered at the will of the landlord. Their right was hereditary, and could be sold with the permission of the landlord.

Occupancy tenants were of two kinds, ***viz.***, (1) those who held land direct from a land-holder or the State, and (2) those who held land under occupancy tenants of class (1). In Kashmir, occupancy tenants consisted mainly of tenants who held land at the first Settlement,

166 167 The foreign missionaries have succeeded in converting a number of local inhabitants to Christianity.

178 167 [564] (5) As regards caste grouping migration has led to a loosening of the tight hold of caste. Narrow prejudices have been swept away. In Gilgit the disappearance of endogamy in Muslim Shia castes is noticeable.

[562] (6) The old customs are gradually giving way. Thus widow marriage is finding favour with the people, while the *Purdah* system is on the decline.

[291] (7) In dress great changes are noticeable. The Kashmiri Pandits are discarding the wearing of *Pheran*, a long loose gown and taking to Punjabi dress. The English dress is more in evidence in literate circles. The hat is gradually supplanting the turban. Even in villages, Punjabi trousers and slippers are overcoming Dogra trousers, and shoes in the case of females. The *Saree* is coming into vogue amongst females of the upper classes.

[197] (8) So far as language is concerned Punjabi is easily spoken and understood in those parts of the State where the inhabitants come in contact with the outside world either as emigrants or as hosts of immigrants. The Kashmiri labourers who go to the Punjab understand and talk Punjabi tolerably well. The shopkeepers and Hanjis (boatmen) in Kashmir who have English speaking customers speak English though broken and full of solecisms. The immigrants in Kashmir especially traders command a fair knowledge of Kashmiri dialect.

[564] (9) In the sphere of occupation changes have taken place. Some of the castes no longer stick to their old hereditary occupations. Labour or service is not regarded as degrading by any caste though Rajputs do not take to domestic service especially the task of cleansing utensils as they regard it menial duty. The Kashmiri Pandits are gradually relinquishing their ideal of Government service and turning to trade and even manual labour in increasing numbers.

II. IMMIGRATION.

167 **101. Main Results for the State.**—The total population of the State as ascertained by actual count on the Census night came to 3,646,243, out of which 3,582,047 *i. e.*, 98·2 per cent. were born within the State. Immigration thus accounts for a trivial increment of 1·8 per cent. to the State population. The immigrants are mainly drawn from the neighbouring British Indian Provinces of the Punjab and the N. W. F. which stretch along the boundary line of the State for a considerable distance. The contiguous districts of these two provinces given in the margin contribute nearly 1·3 per cent. of the population, leaving ·2 per cent. to be contributed by the non-contiguous districts of these provinces. In all thus these two provinces claim 1·5 per cent. of the increment to population of the State while all other Provinces in India and outside countries have only ·3 per cent. to their credit. Among other Indian Provinces the United Province stand foremost while amongst States, Chamba tops the list, being contiguous. As regards Asiatic countries Afghanistan, our neighbour, scores highest, the second best being Nepal due to her sons being in the State Forces. The share of other countries is nominal. The foreign countries benefit us to a very limited extent, the United Kingdom being the greatest contributor as her sons are employed in State service or are engagad in carrying on trade or missionary work. They will be discussed in greater detail in the paragraph on over seas migration.

N. W. F. PROVINCE.
1. Hazara.
PUNJAB PROVINCE.
1. Gujrat.
2. Gurdaspur.
3. Jhelum.
4. Kangra.
5. Rawalpindi
6. Sialkot.

† [Errata: read "overseas". cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category III --Analyst]

659 detected and corrected in the Tabulation and Compilation offices. The entries of the language table should therefore be considered sufficiently reliable although it is impossible to approach the ideal on account of the following reasons :—

[197]

Firstly in the Jammu Province the languages Dogri, Pahari and Punjabi gradually and imperceptibly merge into one another and it is very difficult to assign definite territorial extent to each language as will be seen from the linguistic map where in the Jammu Province there is hardly a district with only one language. Secondly there are border-land dialects born of long association of people speaking different languages which it is difficult to definitely identify and the average villager of such tracts would not care much whether the enumerator puts him down under the one or the other.

Subject to the above reservations which attach to the linguistic statistics of all the countries inhabited by a number of people the figures collected can be taken as reliable.

287. Language and Dialect.—Before entering upon the study of the different mother-tongues it seems essential to add a couple of lines in explanation of the words 'Language' and 'Dialect'. The two words have no hard and fast boundary line between them and the difference between the two has been figuratively illustrated by Sir George Grierson who likens language to a 'Mountain' and the dialect to a 'Hill'. In spite of the looseness of the usage and the interchangeability of the word dialect for language and *vice versa*, language even to a man of average intelligence connotes something bigger and older than the dialect and if another simile were permitted one might inter-relate the two as parent and child. The difference given by the century dictionary runs as follows :—

"In common use we may say that, as a general rule, different dialects of the same language are sufficiently alike to be reasonably well understood by all those whose native tongue is that language, while different languages are so unlike that special study is needed to enable one to understand a language that is not his own".

After detailing the above explanation the writer is still diffident about its self-sufficiency since he also adds "that this is not an essential difference". This is abundantly borne out by the Aryan languages of Northern India in the case of which the criterion of mutual intelligibility by itself is not a satisfactory basis for classifications. A person of slight education and ordinary intelligence might travel from the Punjab to Bengal without feeling the least difficulty in making himself intelligible to the people through Hindi or Hindustani and according to this definition the entire belt of Northern India can have but one language 'Hindi or Hindustani' and the other languages of the Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Bengal would fail to secure the status of language. This difficulty presents itself in bi-lingual tracts and the whole of Northern India may in this sense be termed as bi-lingual since the mother-tongues which the inhabitants of this vast area use in their home is quite distinct from that which they converse with the outsiders. Therefore from a scientific point of view apart from the intercommunicability which is the chief factor of differentiation a language must possess some other essential characteristics, particularly the grammatical structure and nationality.

The grammatical structure forms one of the principal tests which the philologist apply in the classification of languages. "Languages must be classified according to their grammars" is the universally accepted principle of philology as the peculiarities of grammar as revealed in parts of speach, inflected word and combination of words into sentences of various languages possess sufficient

1 [Errata: cf. category 116, p. 330 for corrections -- Analyst]

distinctive features to enable scientific grouping. Vocabulary is also a guide though not a trustworthy one. The claims of a form of speach for being classed as an independent language although well-established on the basis of grammatical structure and vocabulary has further to be subjected to the test of nationality which requires not only that it is the speech of an independent nation with a history of its own but also that it has a fine literature of its own. In short languages are to be differentiated not simply on the basis of intercommunicability but they should possess grammatical structure, a nationality and literature. 659*

288. Scheme of Classification.—The first attempt at a scientific classification of the languages of India may be said to have been made in connection with the 1901 Census under the instructions of Sir George Grierson whose masterly pen has contributed the chapter on languages to the Census Report of India for 1901. Since then various changes and improvements have been effected in the light of the researches made by the Linguistic Survey of India under the direction and supervision of Sir George Grierson who has been supplying his revised schemes of classification of languages for the guidance of the Census. In 1901 the vernacular languages of India were classed in order of antiquity putting the languages which in all probability constituted the oldest languages of India first and then those of later immigrants. Commencing at the top with Selungs of the Margui Archipeligo, the second in order come the Indo-Chinese, next Dravido-Munda and lastly the Aryan languages. The unclassifiable languages and those of countries outside India were recorded after the exhaustion of the above four categories. Subsequent research has further classified the scheme wherein classification has been carried out on the basis of locality and philological affinity. At the 1921 Census as also at the present one the scheme has divided the entire field into three principal categories:— 197

A. Vernaculars of India.

B. Vernaculars of other Asiatic countries and Africa.

C. European languages.

Leaving aside classes B and C whose ramifications are not attended with much complications we take the vernaculars of India and enumerate below the principal eight families into which these are dissected:—

1. Austric Family.
2. Tibeto-Chinese Family.
3. Karan Family.
4. Man Family.
5. Dravidian Family.
6. Indo-European Family (Aryan Sub-family).
7. Unclassed Languages.
8. Languages not returned.

In column 1 of the scheme each of the above main families is divided into a number of sub-families while column 2 of the scheme divides each sub-family into groups and sub-groups. In column 3 are shown the names of the vernaculars against their respective groups while column 4 records the parts of the country in which the language concerned is chiefly spoken. The idea of the scheme will be well brought home by reproducing below the extracts relating to the

[Errata: read "merqui"; cf. errata sheet, p. 330, category 17c -- Analyst]

● 197 State which will be of material help to the reader in understanding the classification of languages of this State:—

Family, Sub-family, Branch and Sub-Branch.	Group and Sub-group.	Language	Where chiefly spoken.
1	2	3	4
B. Tibeto-Chinese Family.			
Tibeto-Burman Sub-family.			
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch ..	Tibetan Group ..	Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan	Punjab, U. P., Bengal and Kashmir.
		Bhotia of Baltistan or Balti	Kashmir.
		Bhotia of Ladakh or Ladakhi ..	Kashmir.
G. Indo-European Family.			
Aryan Sub-family.			
Iranian Branch ..	Eastern Group. ..	Pushto ..	N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan.
		Baluchi ..	Baluchistan.
		Persian. ..	
Dardic Branch ..	Khowar Group ..	Khowar, Chitrali or Arniya	Kashmir & N. W. F. P.
	Dard Group ..	Shina ..	Kashmir & N. W. F. P.
		Kashmiri ..	
		Kohistani ..	Kashmir and N. W. F. P.
	Kafir Group. ..	Bashgali ..	N. W. F. P.
		Other Kafir languages ..	
Indo-Aryan Branch.			
Sanskrit Sub-Branch ..	Sanskrit ..	Sanskrit ..	Madras and Mysore.
(a) Outer Sub-Branch ..	North Western Group.	1. Lahnda or Western Punjabi.	Punjab and N. W. F. P.
		2. Sindhi	Bombay.
	Southern Group ..	Marathi ..	Bombay, C. P. and Berar and Hyderabad.
	Eastern Group ..	Oriya ..	Orissa, Madras and C. P.
		Bihari ..	Bihar and U. P.
		Bengali ..	Bengal and Assam.
		Assamese ..	Assam.
(b) Median Sub-Branch ..	Median Group ..	Eastern Hindi ..	U. P., C. P. & Central India.
(c) Inner Sub-Branch ..	Central Group ..	Western Hindi ..	U. P., Punjab, Rajputana, C. P., C. I. and Hyderabad.
		Rajasthani ..	C. I., C. P., Punjab and Bombay.
		Gujrati ..	Bombay, Rajputana, C. I. and Baroda.
		Bhili ..	C. I. and Rajputana.
		Khandesi ..	Bombay.
		Punjabi ..	Punjab and Kashmir.
	Pahari Group ..	Central Pahari ..	U. P.
		Eastern Pahari, Khas Kura or Nepali	U. P., Bengal and Assam.
		Western Pahari ..	Punjab and Kashmir.
		Pahari (Unspecified).	

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AVI

197

The reproduction of the entire scheme would have been boring to the non-technical reader for whose guidance the above sample should be sufficient to illustrate our portion of the subject which is concerned with only two main families of the revised classification scheme of the Linguistic Survey—(*a*) The Tibeto-Chinese Family and (*b*) The Indo-European Family.

(*a*) ***The Tibeto-Chinese Family.***—Of the four branches constituting this family we are concerned only with the first branch namely the Tibeto-Himalayan Branch out of which again the languages of the State fall within the first group only.

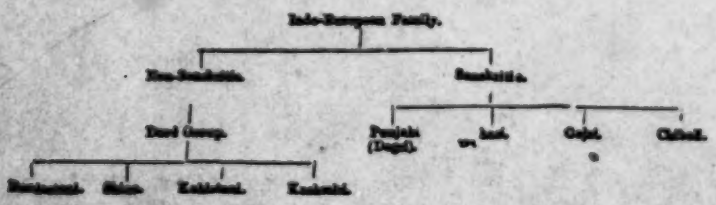
Tibeto-Burman Sub-family. .. Tibetan Group .. Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan.
Bhotia of Baltistan or Balti.
Bhotia of Ladakh or Ladakhi.

Tibeto-Himalayan Branch .. Preeminalised Himalayan Group.
Non-Preeminalised Group.

The Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-family is composed of these languages of which the speakers have crossed the watershed of the Himalayas and settled upon the southern slope of that range. The name Tibetan does not in reality encircle all the languages which are included in Bhotia which has consequently been adopted as the proper name of the language in preference to Tibetan which now has been classed as that dialect of Bhotia which is spoken at Tibet. Similarly Balti and Ladakhi are treated as the dialects of Bhotia spoken in Baltistan and Ladakh respectively. Through the efforts of the Moravian Missionaries the Ladakhi has become well known to philologists since both regular grammar and dictionary of the language have been compiled and it has received sufficient attention at the hands of scholars and literary societies. The Balti also preserves the archaic character of the pronunciation though to a greater degree than the Ladakhi. The territorial extent of the Bhotia language comprises the entire district of Ladakh its principal speakers being the Baltis and Ladakhis. Although Balti owns some historical books yet it cannot be called a language with a literature since the population being Muslim, the Persian character is now used for writing it and the old character is obsolete. The following is the strength of different dialects of Bhotia :—

Tibetan	...	10
Balti	...	137,914
Ladakhi	...	41,418
Brukshas	...	91
Kashgari	...	2
Khapli	...	1

(*b*) ***The Indo-European Family.***—The Indo-European Family in which are included the remaining languages of the State was till the last Census divided into two main Sub-Branches—Non-Sanskritic and Sanskritic—as is brought out in the following pedigree table :—



197 The revised scheme of Sir George Grierson seems to deviate a good deal from the 1921 classification so far as the languages of this State are concerned. The scheme divides the Indo-European Family into (1) Eranian Branch, (2) Dardic Branch and (3) Indo-Aryan Branch. Under the Indo-Aryan Branch are recorded the Sanskrit Sub-Branch after which come the Outer Sub-Branch, Mediate Sub-Branch, Inner Sub-Branch. We are consequently concerned in main with the (1) Dardic Branch and (2) the Indo-Aryan Branch (Inner Sub-Branch).

Dardistan or the country including Gilgit, Kashmir, the Indus and Swat Kohistans, Chitral and Kafirstan is the home of the Dardic or Pisacha languages.

The Dardic Branch is divided into three groups (*a*) Khowar Group, (*b*) Dard Group and (*c*) Kafir Group and although the chief languages of the State fall in the Dard Group yet the Khowar and Kafir Groups are not without representation, since 6,951 speakers of a Khowar dialect (Chitrali), 1 of Yasini and 1 of Punyali have been returned from the Frontier Districts while 7 Bashgali speakers of the Kafir Group were enumerated in the Frontier Illaqas. Of the main Dard Group, Shina, Kohistani and Kashmiri constitute the principal languages prevalent in certain parts of this State while the fourth language Dardistani which figured as a separate part of this group at the last Census does not find a place in the revised scheme probably because all these languages combined form the Dardistani language.

197 *162 "Shina is the language of the Gilgit Valley and of the Indus Valley from Baltistan to the river Tanzir. It also extends to the south-east of the last named river and occupies a large block of mountain country between Baltistan and the Valley of Kashmir". It is thus spoken in the original Dard country and is far the purest language of the group. The most important dialects are Gilgiti, Brukpa—'High landers speech', Astori, Chilasi, Ghurezi, Dras dialect, Brokpa of Dah-Hanu and North-Western dialect. Leitner and Biddulph pioneered the research of this language which has since received fullest examination at the hands of Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Graham Bailey. The number of Shina speakers (proper language) has at the present Census increased to 63,918 against 28,478 of the last Census. The various dialects have under them the following number of speakers:—

Brukpa	...	1,554
Gilgiti	...	23
Astori	...	4
Chilasi	...	106
Nagri	...	136
Shikwar	...	1,712

197 *Kashmiri*—Springing from Dardic origin this language has its home fixed in the Valley of Kashmir and the contiguous valleys beyond which it is neither spoken nor easily understood by outsiders. "The valley having received numerous immigrants from India proper and being one of the most celebrated homes of Sanskrit study its indigenous literature has grown up under the influence of Sanskrit models". The language has been caught up by the philologist in the course of its transition from the analytic to the synthetic stage. The language has passed through scientific study and now possesses a complete grammar, and a dictionary is also being compiled. Besides slight variations in the valley itself it has one distinct dialect—Kishtwari in the south-east while in the south there are some dialects (Poguli, Siraji of Doda, Kishtwari, Rambani and Reasi dialects) leading into Punjabi. A further division into Musalmani Kashmiri and Hindu Kashmiri is also recognised by the survey owing to the former having borrowed words from Persian while the latter is free from any such admixture. It has two alphabets—one akin to Persian used by Muslims and the other being ancient Sharda in which most of the old manuscripts are written.

[212]

The speakers of Kashmiri number 1,413,166 against 1,256,986 of 1921 Census and they are distributed between the various dialects as below:— 197 162

1.	Kashmiri (Proper)	... 1,370,673
2.	Kishtwari	... 12,577
3.	Poguli	... 9,751
4.	Rambani	... 1,919
5.	Siraji of Doda	... 17,574
6.	Banjwali	... 672

Kohistani.—Kohistani is spoken by 3,121 people in the State with the following dialects (*a*) Kaghani 2,766, (*b*) Kohistani 57 and (*c*) Bombaji 298.

Indo-Aryan Branch.—Now we descend to the Indo-Aryan Branch under the Sanskrit Sub-branch of which we have the groups and languages distributed in the following manner. There are three main Sub-branches (*a*) Outer Sub-branch, (*b*) the Mediate Sub-branch and (*c*) the Inner Sub-branch.

(*a*) *The Outer Sub-branch.*—It is comprised of 3 groups, (*i*) North-Western Group having two languages (1. Lahanda or Western Punjabi and 2. Sindhi); (*ii*) Southern Group having one language (3. Marathi) under it; and (*iii*) Eastern Group of four languages (4. Oriya, 5. Bihari, 6. Bengali, 7. Assamese).

(*b*) *The Mediate Sub-branch.*—It consists of only one group—Group No. IV having only one language classed under it (8. Eastern Hindi).

(*c*) *The Inner Sub-branch.*—Consists of two groups—V and VI. Group V known as the Central Group has six languages (9. Western Hindi, 10. Punjabi, 11. Gujrati, 12. Bhili, 13. Khandesi, 14. Rajasthani). *Group VI Pahari Group* has four languages (15. Central Pahari, 16. Eastern Pahari or Naipali, 17. Western Pahari, 18. Pahari unspecified).

It is hoped that even the ordinary reader will not find any difficulty in properly grasping the scientific classification of languages and the position that our languages occupy in the scheme of the Linguistic Survey. From the above account the reader will at once find that besides Lahanda or Western Punjabi of the Outer Sub-branch we are primarily concerned with the Inner Sub-branch Punjabi and Rajasthani (Nos. 10 and 14) of the Central Group and the Western Pahari (No. 17) of the Pahari Group.

'Lahanda' is a Punjabi word meaning the 'Sun setting' or the west and consequently is a synonym of Western Punjabi which is divided into a large number of dialects the Southern Group of which includes dialects spoken south of the salt range in the Rechna and Joch Doabs, *i. e.*, in the districts of Shahpur, Jhang, Gujranwala and Gujrat. From this the influence that this dialect has upon the parts of the State adjoining these tracts of the Punjab is self-evident. The Chabhali is the principal dialect of Lahanda spoken in Mirpur where the speakers numbered 44,460 in 1931 against 86,050 of the last Census. The fall is no doubt, considerable and is due to most of the people having been recorded under Punjabi without observing the distinction of Lahanda. The dialects of Lahanda as recorded by the Census are Pothwari 51,062, Hazari 649 and Poonchi 12.

Punjabi.—In the Inner Sub-branch we meet with the main Punjabi which has Dogri as one of its dialects. The Punjabi is spoken by thirteen millions of people while in the State it is confined to Jammu and Mirpur, the total number of speakers recorded at this Census being 329,201 against 241,439 of 1921. This incidentally explains the fall under Lahanda. Punjabi has a small literature of ballads and epic lores such as Hir Ranjha. Under Punjabi the following dialects have also been returned besides Dogri:—

Kangri	... 255
Powadhi	... 430
Gurmukhi	... 180

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AVI

197 x162 [814]

Dogri.—It is a dialect of the Punjabi spoken in the Jammu Province and adjoining parts of the Punjab. Closely resembling the standard dialect it differs mainly in the forms used in the diclension of nouns and in vocabulary which is influenced by Lahanda and Kashmiri. It has a written character of its own known as the Dogri but also called 'Takkari' derived from Takkas a tribe whose capital was at Sialkot. The language has also been scientifically studied by Pandit Gauri Shankar, M. A., a native of the State who did considerable research work over the subject and has compiled a grammar of Dogri. The scholar has been deputed to England by the Punjab Government for higher research work and by the next Census we hope to possess greater information about this language. Its speakers number 549,917 and there is also a record of 67 persons under a dialect Kandli.

Gojari.—The Gojari a dialect of the Rajasthani is the language of ubiquitous Gujjars who normally a pastoral people have settled in certain parts of the State adjoining rich pastures. The number of speakers is 317,762 against 289,482 of 1921. Under it have been returned the dialects Labani 2,357 and Marwari 226.

Western Pahari.—Pahari as the name implies means the language of people dwelling in the mountains and is used to denote all the three groups from Nepal in the east to Bhadarwah in the west. The Western Pahari is a congregation of a large number of dialects spoken in the hill country around Simla. These dialects have no standard form and beyond a few folk epics, no literature. The districts of Muzaffarabad, Reasi and Udhampur and the Jagir of Poonch fall predominantly under its influence. The number of Pahari speakers is 633,036 against 536,069 of the 1921 Census. The speakers are distributed amongst the different dialects as follows:—

Pahari	...	595,754
Bhadarwahi	...	20,357
Gaddi	...	9,798
Pahari	...	5,425
Sarori	...	1,702
Total	...	633,036

000 **289. Languages of Asia and Europe.**—Persian and Tibetan are the Asiatic languages the first hailing from Persia to which the Shias of Baltistan look as the fountain head of their religion while the latter Tibetan especially Lhassi having its home in Lhassa the capital of Tibet where the Dalai Lama has his headquarters. Both these languages influence the education and literature of the Baltis and Budhists. Of the European languages English has been recorded as the mother-tongue of 300 persons enumerated in Kashmir South and Jammu district. These Englishmen must be particularly confined to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu. The speakers of other European languages numbered only 34 who were scattered about the country.

197 **290. Unclassified Languages.**—At the present Census under the heading, unclassified have been recorded Burushaski Chohdi 66, Hespian 3, Hanzrek 305, Kanjoli 9, Karmith 1, Khadra 71, Khildehi 238, Khilwali 122, Khokri 34, Mishkeen 1, Muyani 3, Normal 1, Rooski 1, Bazigari 96 and Pernia 70. It is hoped that by the time of the next Census the important ones will be relegated to their proper orders and the other entries having only a few persons recorded under them due to mis-spelling will be rejected.

291. General Distribution of Languages and the Linguistic Map: Vernacular Languages.—The accompanying map presents a bird's eye view of the linguistic distribution of the State territories and the percentages by districts of the principal languages shown on the one side of the map make the subject self-explanatory. It is apparent the existence of natural barriers such as the high

* [Errata: read "are mostly" for "mutha pal-ticularly" cf. errata sheet, p. 358, category 116.—Analyst]

197 and vast mountain ranges severing one part of the country from another the languages have remained localised within their territorial boundaries and the overlapping which in a flat country pierced with a net work of railways or waterways and roads is so natural and common is to a large measure non-existent in this State as a result of which the proverbial isolation of one part from another has not yet been broken up. The districts of Ladakh and Gilgit are solely under the Bhotia and Shina influence and none of the languages of the Kashmir Province has influenced these tracts nor is Shina or Bhotia understood anywhere outside the Indus Valley. The Kashmiri is localised in the Kashmir North and South which have about 90 per cent. speakers of this tongue. Next to these districts the Udhampur has also 41·8 per cent. of Kashmiri speakers since this district has drawn considerably on the surplus population of Kashmir, Riasi and Muzaffarabad have also about 9 per cent. Kashmiri speakers. Coming to the Jammu Province we find the chief home of Dogri in the Kathua (82·3) and Jammu (62·4) districts although Udhampur and Riasi also contribute respectable proportions of 33·6 per cent. and 24·0 per cent. while Mirpur has also a sprinkling of 8·1 per cent. Punjabi forms the principal tongue of the Mirpur district (59·1 per cent.) next to which its influence is seen on the Jammu district (23·2) whose tahsils border on the Punjab. The remaining 18 per cent. of Punjabi speakers are sprinkled over the entire State either in the form of traders or State employees. Pahari has its roots planted in Poonch and Muzaffarabad, Udhampur and Riasi districts while the upper portions of Kathua also come under its sway. Gujari is found in districts possessing rich and extensive pastrage such as Riasi, Muzaffarabad, Poonch, and parts of Udhampur, Jammu and Kathua are also touched by its speakers.

191 **202. Bi-lingualism.**—One of the special features of the present Census was to obtain a record of bi-lingualism by providing an additional column in the Census schedule in which the subsidiary languages used by the enumerated person in addition to his mother-tongue were to be entered. From the data thus collected has been compiled the Part II of the Language Table No. XV in which the extent of bi-lingualism has been statistically represented in Part A while bi and poly-linguals have been relegated to a separate Part B. The returns consisted of a large mass of combinations which presented a good deal of difficulty to the Tabulation officer whereon poured a volley of interrogatories requesting definite instructions as to the system on which the table was to be prepared and the number of combinations that were to be represented therein. This was only natural as the State population although small in number is composed of a heterogeneous mass of people speaking a large number of languages quite distinct from one another and consequently the representation of all the combinations would have resulted in chaos and confusion. To obviate this difficulty only five important mother-tongues, Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Gujari

Language.	Proportion per 10,000.	Total persons.
A—Gujari as mother-tongue with subsidiary as subsidiary ..	2,301	468,237
(i) Punjabi ..	139	7,288
(ii) Kashmiri ..	17	340
A—Kashmiri as mother-tongue with subsidiary as subsidiary	2,709	2,276,702
(i) Dogri ..	36	3,272
(ii) Punjabi ..	29	2,369
A—Dogri as mother-tongue with subsidiary as subsidiary ..	272	207,769
(i) Dogri ..	261	77,272
(ii) Kashmiri ..	261	4,342
A—Pahari as mother-tongue with subsidiary as subsidiary ..	2,261	461,779
(i) Dogri ..	71	4,211
(ii) Kashmiri ..	169	3,341
A—Punjabi as mother-tongue with subsidiary as subsidiary ..	661	288,429
(i) Dogri ..	199	3,291
(ii) Kashmiri ..	194	1,241

2 [Errata: delete "pierced"; cf. errata sheet
3 116 CENSUS (U.S.—ANALYSIS)

4:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir AVI

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY LANGUAGES.

197 ●
162

Locality, Sub-locality, Division, Sub-division.	Group No. Sub-group.	Language.	Persons speaking or returning		Number per mille of population of locality.	Where chiefly spoken.
			1931	1921		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Languages of the Hills.						
Whole Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Whole Province Including	Tibetan Group.	Bhotia.	176,460	181,729	49	Ladakh District.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Jammu Province Including	Khasa Group.	Chibali.	6,861	111	2	Frontier Division (Pir Panjal Range).
	Kohi Group.	Dogri.	6,781	6,861	2	Jammu North and Jammu South.
	Pahri Group.	Kashmiri.	5,171	4,162	1	Kashmir North.
	Do.	Do.	1,413,240	1,320,210	393	Kashmir Province, Udampur, Poonch and Punch.
	Do.	Hindi.	12,814	10,479	10	Gilgit.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Outer Sub-branch (Residuary).	N. W. Group.	Lahnda (Chibali).	44,440	46,220	12	Mirpur.
	Central Group.	Punjabi (Dogri dialect).	440,317	224,010	121	Jammu, Kathua and Udampur.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Outer Sub-branch.	Do.	Rajasthani (Dogri dialect).	211,701	220,442	57	Poonch, Naushahra, Rajouri, Jammu, Kathua North and a small area in Jammu.
	Pahari Group.	Western Pahari.	422,220	220,240	114	Poonch, Naushahra, Rajouri and Udampur.
Languages of India.						
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	North Western Group.	Lahnda (Pothwari dialect).	41,000	42,724	14	Mirpur.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	Central Group.	Punjabi.	222,221	241,420	60	Mirpur and Jammu.
		Rajasthani.	2,200	2,117	1	Jammu.
		Western Hindi.	2,217	2,271	1	Mirpur and Jammu.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	Eastern Group.	Pahari.	2,214	2,220	1	Kashmir Province and Frontier Division.
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	Languages Belonging to Asia Outside India.	Others.	2,220	2,220	1	Scattered.
Asiatic Languages.						
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	Eastern Group.	Persian.	240	242	---	Scattered.
		Others.	220	80	---	Do.
European Languages.						
Jammu Province Purely Hilly Division Sub-division Sub-branch Outer Sub-branch.	Western Group.	English.	201	220	1	Kashmir Province and Jammu Division.
		Others.	24	6	---	Scattered.
Unclassified Languages.						
		Religion.	22	22	---,	Jammu, Scattered.
		Others.	20,244	6		

Notes 1.—Bhotia includes Bhotia (Kishtwar parganah), Balti, Ladakhi, Tibetan, Brokskat, Kinlgaul and Khargil.

2. Kashmiri includes Koshurki, Kashmiri (Kishtwar parganah), Kishtwari, Poguli, Rambani and Singli.

3. Western Pahari includes Pahari, Bhaderwahi, Gahli, Pahri and Tarali.

4. Rajasthani includes Dogri and Marwari.

5. Western Hindi includes Hindi, Khariboli, Urdu and Gurh.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Comparison of Tribal and Language Tables.

Tribe and Language.	Strength of Tribe (Table XVII).		Persons speaking Tribal language only.		Persons speaking Tribal language and some other language.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kashmiri ..	702,859	691,091	703,218	689,747	6,301	3,954
Gujrati ..	210,248	205,259	174,339	167,754	17,011	11,754
Hindu ..	7,170	7,013	33,379	31,339	391	84